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The following six expressions of wish were also voted, the first unanimously, the others nearly so:

1. The Conference, taking into consideration the preliminary steps already taken by the Swiss Federal Government for the revision of the Geneva Convention, expresses the wish that a special conference be called, to meet at an early date, whose object shall be the revision of this Convention.

2. The Conference expresses the wish that the question of the rights and duties of neutrals may be put upon the program of a conference in the near future.

3. The Conference expresses the wish that the questions such as it has examined relative to naval rifles and cannon, may be made the subject of investigation by the governments with the view of arriving at an agreement concerning the use of new types and calibres.

4. The Conference expresses the wish that the governments, taking account of the propositions made in the Conference, may have investigated the possibility of an agreement concerning the limitation of armed forces on land and sea, and of the war-budgets.

5. The Conference expresses the wish that the proposition that private property at sea in time of war be declared inviolable be referred for examination to a subsequent conference.

6. The Conference expresses the wish that the proposition for the regulation of the matter of the bombardment of ports, cities and villages by naval forces be referred for examination to a subsequent conference.

The Immediate and the Future Results of the Conference.

To the remarks in our last issue, written before the close of the Conference, it may not be inappropriate to add a few reflections. There was a good deal of enthusiasm among the delegates about their work when it was completed. Slow of heart to believe, at the beginning, what the prophets had written, they found when the final moment came that they had more than fulfilled the highest expectations of even the advanced friends of peace. In the three conventions which they had drawn they had practically done the work of three conferences. The finest spirit of concord had prevailed throughout, and there was a general feeling among them that they had not only accomplished much, but also laid the foundation for much larger results in the time to come. The opinions of Mr. de Staal and of Andrew D. White, given elsewhere in this issue, fairly represent the general sentiment of all the more conspicuous delegates and of the peace advocates who were at The Hague. Mr. W. H. de Beaufort, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, said in his speech at the close of the Conference: "We live in a time when we must take even more

account of the moral effect of a great measure than of its immediate material results. For us the memory of your sojourn here will remain forever a luminous spot in the annals of the country, because we have the firm conviction that your sojourn here has opened a new era in the history of international relations between the civilized peoples."

Mr. Low's statement, made to Mr. Stead, that the Conference was more like the Parliament of Man than any that had ever before assembled, was a very modest statement. It is true that a considerable number of nations, probably entirely of their own choice, were not represented in it, but those which sent delegates stand, with their dependencies, for over twelve hundred millions of people, or more than four-fifths of the entire population of the globe. They represent, notwithstanding their remaining animalism, barbarism and greed, all that is highest and best in civilization. So that we may without exaggeration go beyond President Low and claim that the Conference was in principle and largely in scope the veritable beginning of the Parliament of Man.

The immediate results of the Conference are not exhausted by the three conventions, the three declarations and the six expressions of wish made. These are important,—supremely important is the constitution of an international court, "instituting a permanent arbitral jurisdiction accessible to all in the heart of the independent powers, consecrating with international accord the principles of equity and right on which rest the security of states and the well-being of peoples," as the preamble to the convention says. This great convention "recognizes the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations," and "the desirability of extending the empire of right and strengthening the sentiment of international justice," as the preamble further declares. But the immediate moral result is greater than even this convention, which is only an imperfect expression of it.

The Conference has proved that it is possible for the nations, in spite of their historic animosities, their sharply differing traditions, customs and languages, to meet together, on a basis of peace and confidence, and successfully consider their great common interests without ulterior motives. Multitudes of men said it could not be done; that the effort would prove a farce. But it has been done, and the skeptics have been silenced. This is the great achievement—the widening, deepening and strengthening, the consecrating, to use the Czar's term, of the new international spirit which has been forming itself so rapidly in recent years. The public official demonstration of this spirit and the enlarged international sympathy and trust growing at once out of this demonstration are to be set at the head of the list of immediate accomplishments at The Hague. But for this the conventions and declarations would be cast aside

almost as waste paper. This will assure their ratification and their efficiency. The nations can never again, after the experiences of this Conference, think of each other or stand in the attitude toward each other, except possibly temporarily, that they have stood in the past. The memory of the Conference cannot perish. War cannot reverse the new spirit of fellowship which it has demonstrated. The enlarged consciousness of humanity developed by it will imperiously impose its moral obligations upon all civilized peoples, and out of it will come new coöperation, new conferences, new and still finer conventions.

While the new era of which Mr. de Beaufort speaks as opened by the Conference finds its fundamental significance in this enlarged, clarified spirit of fellowship, we must not forget another phase of it on the practical side. The Conference, when its acts are ratified, will have completed the organization of the peace movement and placed peace at the front in international relations as the supreme guiding idea in the future. The plan adopted for the organization of the international court of arbitration has in it a new feature of immense significance in this regard. The Bureau of the Court is to be under the direction of the foreign ministers accredited to The Hague. Besides the justices, therefore, who are to constitute the membership of the Court, we are to have in these ministers a Permanent Inter-governmental Peace Council, or what may some day amount to a Permanent Peace Congress. Just what this Peace Directorship, which will consist of from thirty to fifty statesmen, will develop into under government direction, it is too early to surmise. But that it will prove a powerful factor in the relations of the nations is perfectly clear. It lifts the ministry to The Hague to the first rank. Henceforth the foremost diplomats will be sent to this capital, "the capital of the world." There, as the guardians and directors of the Bureau of the Court, their relations to one another and to their governments at home will center in the idea of peace. Every government in the world and the whole field of diplomacy will feel the influence.

The organization of peace has passed through three previous stages. The first was that of the peace societies, whose work was to enlighten and develop public sentiment. The second stage was that of the organization of the International Peace Congresses, eventuating in the establishment of the Peace Bureau at Berne. The third was the organization of the Inter-parliamentary Peace Union, a quasi-official body devoting its whole thought to practical peace and arbitration measures. We have now, through the action of the Hague Conference in constituting the court of arbitration and its accessories, entered upon the last, the official inter-governmental stage of the organization of peace.

This fact, connected with that of the enlarged in-

ternational fellowship indicated above, constitutes the real essence of what the Conference has done. Both on the material and the moral side it is difficult to see how it could have been greater or more promising. Time will interpret the great transaction as no one, not even the farthest-sighted of the delegates to the Conference, is capable of interpreting or comprehending it to-day. The impulse, the inspiration of it will be felt in many directions. We may, therefore, well leave to the future, without any attempt at detailed prophecy, the further practical results to which our minds so naturally and anxiously turn. We shall be able to insist upon disarmament and to work for it with all the more earnestness and faith now that the nations have strengthened their desire and proved their ability to coöperate so triumphantly in the constructive ways of peace.

Andrew D. White's Opinion of the Work of the Hague Conference.

Hon. Andrew D. White, Chairman of the American Commission at the Peace Conference, has given to the press the following statement in regard to the results attained at The Hague. He was in a position to understand thoroughly the spirit which animated the Conference and the difficulties to be overcome, and his conservative judgment may be taken as a fair interpretation of the work done and the good after results practically sure to follow from it. His estimate seems to us below rather than above the real results, for what was done is not to be judged simply in itself, but in its relations to the many causes which led to the holding of the Conference,—causes which will continue to work, and much more powerfully than heretofore:

"In my opinion great good was accomplished, far more, in fact, than any of us dared expect or even hope when we came together.

As to disarmament, everybody really thinking upon the subject must see that a good system of arbitration must come first, and that then, when arbitration has diminished the likelihood of war, the argument for cutting down forces and armaments is greatly strengthened. The logical order then is, first arbitration, and next disarmament.

As to the plan of arbitration, any compulsory system is at present utterly out of the question. There are so many international differences involving questions of race, religion, security, and even national existence, and the difficulty of drawing a line between these and questions which may properly be arbitrated is so insurmountable that there is not a nation on the face of the earth willing to risk an obligatory system. Far better than any compulsory arbitration, which probably, even if it had been adopted by the Conference, not one of the Powers would have finally ratified, is a thoroughly good system of voluntary arbitration, recourse to which public opinion will enforce more and more, and this I earnestly believe the Conference has presented to the world.